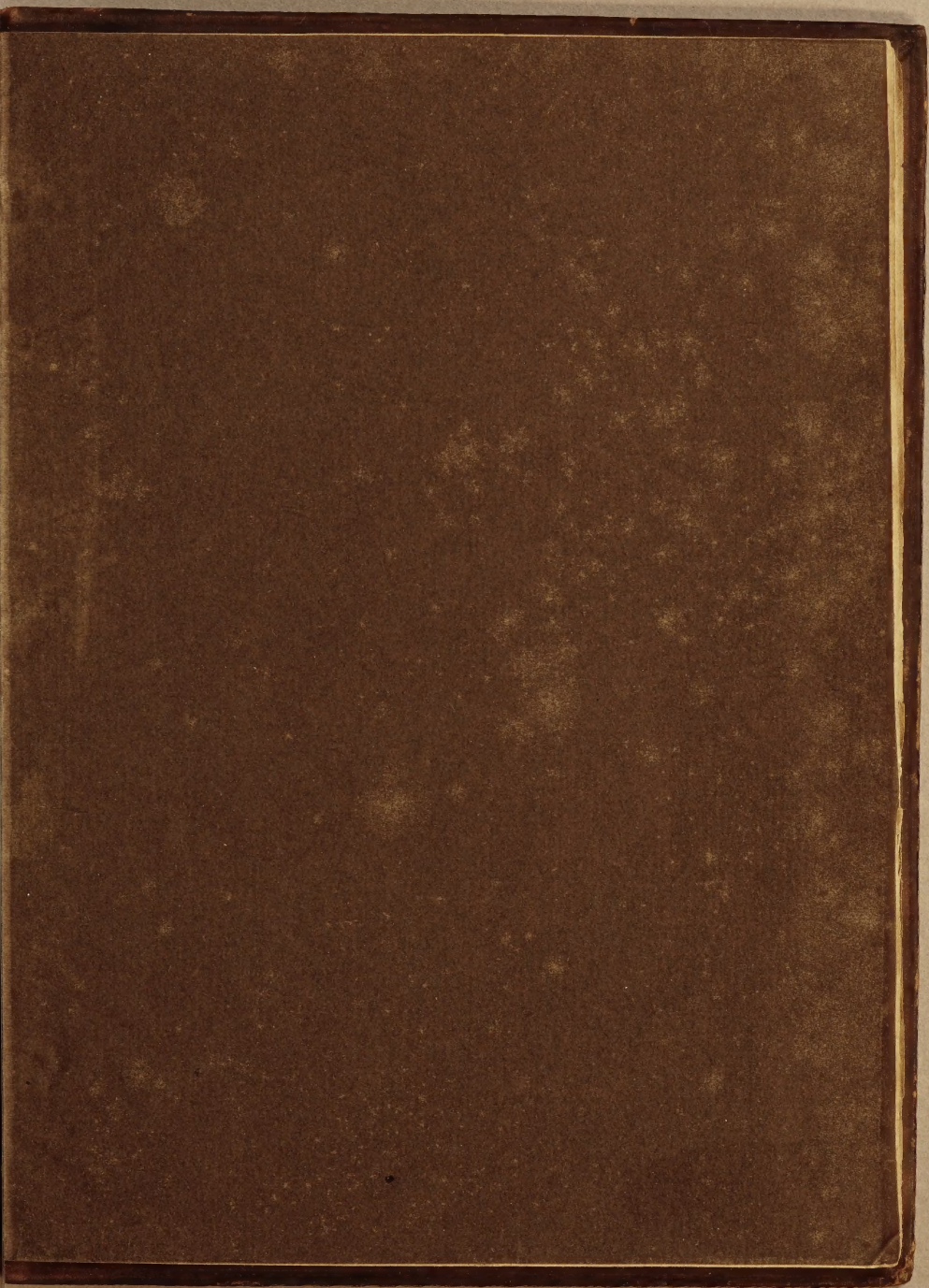
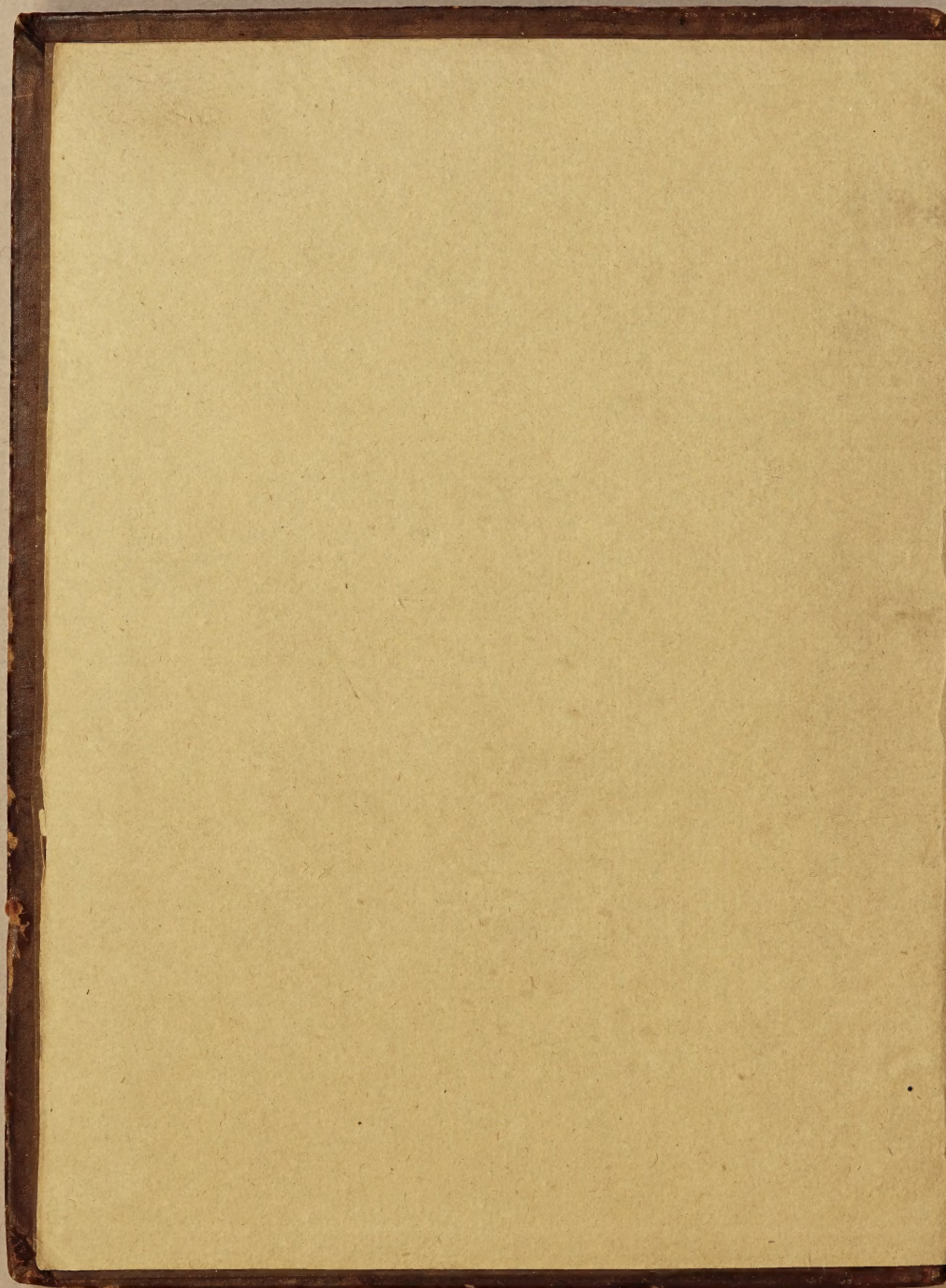
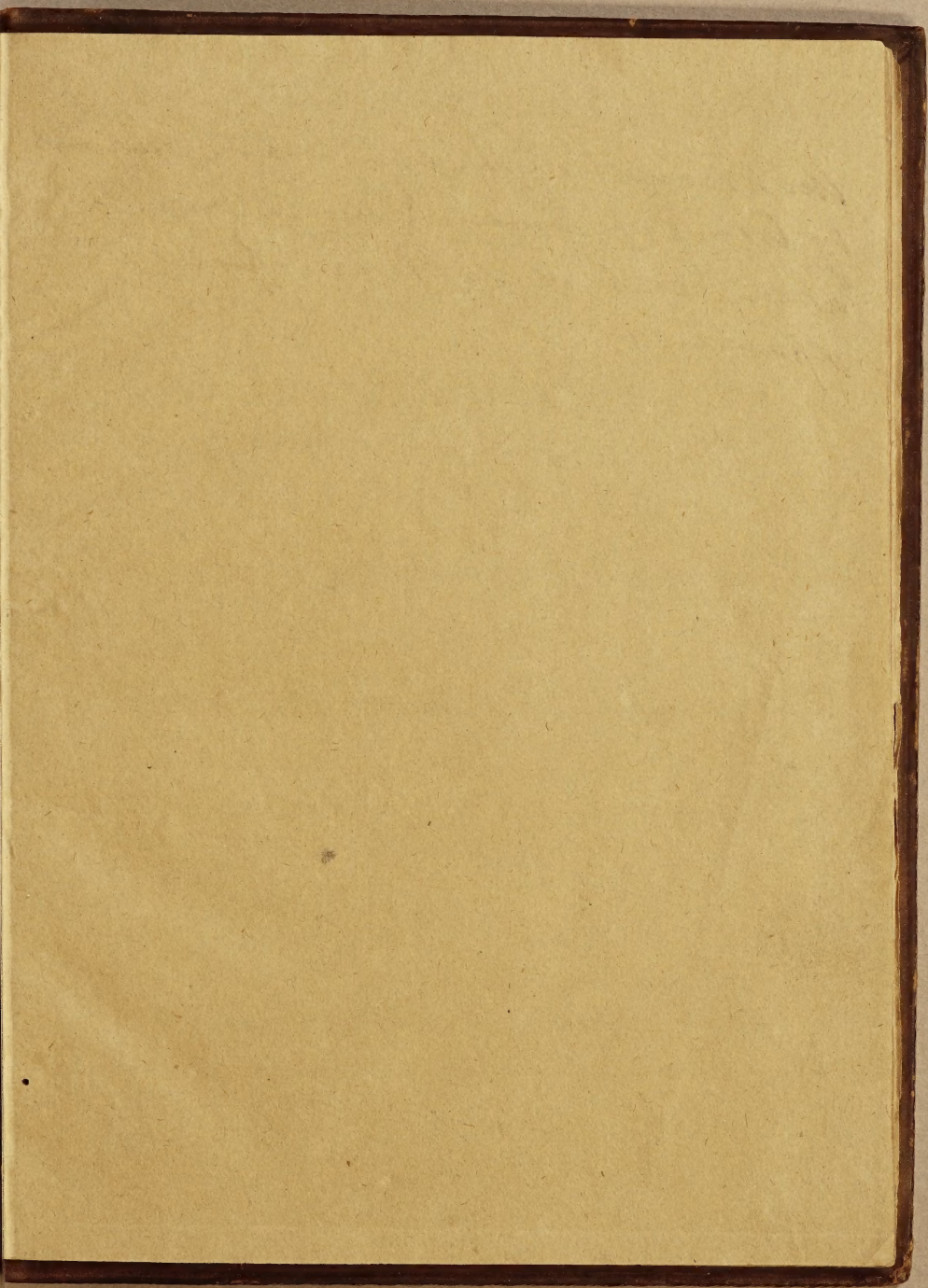


John Carter Brown.







an account of the Expedition sent out
by Cromwell under Penn & Venables,
when Jamaica was taken from the
Spaniards.

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A brief and perfect

Duplex

JOURNAL OF

The late Proceedings and
Successe of the *English* Army in the
WEST-INDIES,

Continued until *June*, the 24th. 1655.

TOGETHER WITH

Some Quæres inserted and Answered.

Published for satisfaction of all such who desire truly
to be informed in these particulars.

By I. S. an Eye-witnesse.

Veritas nudata celari non potest.

London, Printed 1655.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

BRITISH MUSEUM

SALE (DUPLICATE)

RPJCE

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*A brief and perfect Journal of the late
Proceedings and Successe of the Eng-
lish Army in the West-Indies, con-
tinued until June the 24th. 1655.*



N all Records, ancient or modern (of the actions and transactions of Kingdoms and Nations) there is not to be seen more suitable successes attending strange and occult proceedings, then lately in the *West-Indies*; and although the managing of so grand affairs (and matters of high concernment) were committed to some who had the repute of being well principled, valiant and politick in War, yet there wanted not means to frustrate the design, (and expectations of most men) the particulars whereof I shall deliver in as brief and true manner as possibly I may; but before I proceed further, it will not be amisse to insert these Queries with their Resolutions.

1. Whether or not the setting forth of this Army were really intended for the glory of God, and propagation of the Gospel.
2. Whether those that were of this Army were fit instruments to be employed in the exaltation of Gods work, and pulling down of Antichrist.
3. And lastly, whether the hand of Almighty God hath not been plain and manifestly seen in opposition to their actions and proceedings.

To the first is answered, That after divers serious debates and results (*pro and con*) it was at length resolved (by the Supreme

preme Authority and Councell of State) to send an Army into the *Western-Indies*: what preparation was made, is not unknown to most of the Nation; but for what or against whom, was scarce understood by any (except some few superiors) and for this cause divers conscientious men (who preferred the service of God, before that of men; and treasure in Heaven, beyond riches and honour on Earth) scrupled the design, and deserted the service: For what zealous heart would willingly embrace an unknown enterprise, which might perhaps tend to his own destruction sooner then his Enemies, by endeavouring to pull that down which God hath set up, and to set up that which he never called him unto? Shall a multitude perish through means of some few particular men, (in fulfilling that proverb) by pinning their faith on others sleeves? hath not God conferred as much of the gifts of grace and nature on the mean men of the world, as on those of the greatest rank and dignity? doth honour adde zeal, riches, valour? or have the most eminent in office and command, alway the greatest eminency of wisdom and conduct? certainly we have found otherwise, for oftentimes such involve themselves in eminent and irrecoverable dangers, nor is it alwaies pregnancy of wit, valour and discretion (although these be famous in war) that gives the victory, but God that worketh all in all, and who can say, What dost thou?

To conclude the design to be altogether grounded on a wrong and corrupt principle, were to accuse our *Grandees* with folly, irreligion, and what not; when indeed it is beyond the ability of man to pry into the secret thoughts and intents of the heart, 'tis only the Almighty can do it; and although there may be a probable conjecture given of the intent of the workman, by the instrument he taketh in hand, yet God hath been sometimes pleased to make the wicked, instruments of good; but it doth not therefore follow, that such should be employed in good works, neither the servants of God in bad; all created things move in their proper sphere; the natural man acts in his natural function, and mindeth onely the things of the world; and the spiritual man (although he be in the world) is not of the world, but mindeth the things of

the Spirit, and the fulfilling of the glory of God, whose power and justice is as well seen in the destruction of the wicked, as preservation of the righteous.

Now to return to the good intent of the Cause whereof I treat, if we reflect upon the consequence of actions, it will soon appear, there was nothing lesse aimed at, then Gods glory, and establishment of the Gospel, nor nothing more coveted, then gain to themselves, and establishment in the rich possessions of others; but servants often disobey the command of their Masters, and act contrary to his will and pleasure, 'tis possible it might be so now, and that might cause their greater punishment.

If we look upon this expedition in reference to the lawfulness thereof (as it is in it self) we may finde (by these following considerations) that it was both lawful, just, and warrantable by the Word of God, and Law of Nations. First, in regard those they went out against were Idolaters, Hereticks, and Members of the false Church. Secondly, For that they (some years since) most wickedly and inhumanely murdered and destroyed divers of our Nation that traded peaceably with them in the *West-Indies*. Thirdly, There was no breach of League in the prosecution of this War, there being no Articles of peace or cessation in force betwixt both Nations, to the southward of the Tropick. Lastly, Conquest is free to all people, no Law of Nations can prohibit the power of the Sword, 'tis only God that sets its bounds and limits, and where his pleasure is, it should make a final conquest, there is it free inheritance to the Conqueror, and his successors. By that power did the *Normans* invade and conquer *England*, since which time there hath no lesse then 25. Kings and Queens successively (although not successfully) reigned: by the same power was there lately a period put to that government, and a new established: by this power had the Kingdome of *France* been subject to the Crown of *England*, and by the same power again recovered; by this power are the *Turks* and Infidels (at this day) possessors of the best and fruitfulest parts of the earth; and by the same power *Julius Caesar* became conqueror of the whole world; Many and incredible are the

the difficulties and admirable exploits run through and performed by this power, and that sometimes by a weak hand, for when the Omnipotent punisheth the wicked, and correcteth his own people, he often maketh choice of one and the same means to be instrumental for both.

And thus much for the legality of the cause by which we must not measure the good intent; if we do, we may deceive our selves, for as hath been said, the very actions and deportments of this Army was such, that no good at all might be expected from them, either in their intent or proceeding: To condemn all, because many were guilty, were an act of much injustice, some might be better principled, otherwise of all Armies were they most miserable, but the byass of riches and honours many times carrieth men headlong to destruction.

A Common-wealth of people, is as mans body, some member may be corrupted, and yet the vitals preserved, and the head not impaired; in such cases the skilful Chirurgeon, that takes care to keep and preserve the Microcosm, dismembreth that part from the rest of the body, that might otherwise destroy the whole fabrick.

Those who are called unto high places, (and beare rule and dominion over Nations) ought not only to be repleat with true zeal and wisdom, but also valour and State policy, that so the gifts of Grace and Nature being united, they may (as pious Patrons, and good Chirurgeons) preserve the body of the Nation, in spiritual and temporal health.

God hath already begun a good work amongst us, and let not *England* now despair of such a Governor, there are yet some consequences to be shewn, that the primary intents of our Grandees, were nothing sutable to the following actings, or rather misactings of this Army. Grapes could not be expected from thornes, nor figs from thistles, but rather that the bad tree should be cut down and cast into the fire. *England* is now very populous, and the abundance of fruitlesse trees so encumber the vines, that they cannot fructifie; the late Civill war hath yet left some species of malignancy, the sores and corruptions of the Nation are not healed, because not cleansed, for the tincture of ungodlines is yet savoury in their

palats; men of desperate fortunes have desperate means of remedy; they subsist not by sweat of their own brow, but reap the fruit of others labors, sowing the seed of sedition, and abominable wickedness in a Land where they have no right inheritance; Can a Christian Common-wealth flourish either in godliness, plenty, or peace, when it abounds with such profane vile caterpillars, and corrupters of all good manners? Is it not justice in God, and wisdom in man to expell such unworthy and unwelcome guests from among his people? *Ireland* hath already a sufficient share, and *Barbadoes*, (with the rest of those small Islands, subject to this Dominion, who were wont to be a receptacle for such vermin) are now so filled, that they vomit forth of their superfluities into other places.

Could there be a lesse cruel, and more just means used then to imploy such in a Forain War? the *Indies* are spacious, pleasant and rich, too rich indeed for either the vicious inhabitants, or no lesse vicious invaders. But those whom *England* sent forth on this first expedition, were not many, their number was compleated elsewhere, and the design being advanced with much secrecie (even to the Members of the Army it self) manifestly argueth what they were which were intended for that service; even such who willingly proceeded although they knew not whither.

That which now remaineth, is the proof of the Cause, whether really intended for Gods glory, and propagation of the Gospel (as was first propounded) The arguments and consequences conducing to the confirmation hereof, are briefly comprehended in this, That if it had pleased God in mercy (for the righteous sake) to prosper the proceedings of the wicked, and to give the *Spaniards* and their rich possessions into the hands of those who were more sinful then themselves, that then there would be a fair gap opened for the enriching divers good people of the Nation, and utter extirpation of all idle, profane and irreligious ones that should be sent over as souldiers and servants into this new conquered Common-wealth, that so, (all impediments being removed) the glory of God (above all things else) might be exalted, and the Gospel have free passage and recourse throughout the Dominions.

Secondly,

Secondly, whether the instruments were futable to the work, hath been in part already resolved, but more fully will appear in the following Journal, wherein is declared what and whence they were that acted, also what and where their actions were from time to time, together with the manner of success.

In the whole written Word of God may not be seen in any one instance, that ever he employed those of his people (in his intended work and service) which remained polluted in their sins and wickedness, but alwaies first brought them (by some means or other) unto true humiliation and repentance; and this was sometimes performed by giving part of them over to be destroyed of their enemies: in which is seen (that by Gods permission) good is sometimes acted by means of the wicked; good consequences may be drawn from bad subjects, as in the former sense; but that ever such should persevere in any good or godly work (as to the compleating thereof) is not only very improbable, but impossible, for that which is divided against it self, cannot stand: humane reason will also tell us that any rare and curious piece of work cannot be performed by dull and unfit instruments.

But to return to the resolutions of the third and last Quære, That the hand of God hath been plain and manifestly seen in opposition to their actions, doth not only appear in the manner of success, but also of proceeding, and that in so miraculous a manner, that scanty any age may parallel; God indeed confounds the counsels of the high and mighty, and turneth their wisdom into meer foolishness: That an Army so numerous, strong and well provided, should be so cow'd out, beaten, and shamefully repulsed, by lesse then a handful of men, in comparison, was certainly the work of God, and it is marvellous in our eyes. O that men could be sensible of the guilt of sin, and humble themselves by repentance before destruction sweep them hence that they be no more seen; or that they could take ensample by the destruction of others to persist no longer in the waies of wickedness! But such was the obdurate hearts, and seared consciences of this people, that neither blessings nor cursings could mollifie; the golden Calf was already set up in their hearts, and although Aaron were present with them

them, yet there wanted a *Moses* to destroy it, and supplicate the Almighty to avert his just judgements from a people that were so exceeding sinfull.

Now followeth the Journall it self, wherein is described each proceeding and action in due place as they happened (with all things pertinent thereunto). Whereby the judicious and impartiall Readers may at leasure give that solid and just construction of each particular matter according as the justnesse or unjustnesse of the cause requireth, which probably (through hast, multiplicity of businesse, and a troubled spirit) I may not have so well performed in resolution to the former *Queres*.

After it was absolutely resolved to send an Army into the *West-Indies*, preparations were accordingly made as well by Land as Sea; the Generals appointed for both were his Excellency *Rob. Venables*, and the Right Honourable *William Pen*; (men who had seen much of Gods actings for his people, in going in and out before them to their deliverance, and crowning their endeavours with many glorious and triumphant Victories) Divers good Ships and Friggots were allotted for this service, (had they been but as well Victualled and Manned) and all Seamen that were willing to proceed in the service, received entertainment; but for want of a due complement, many Fresh-water Sailors, and others, were prest. Drums were also beaten up for such Voluntary Souldiers as were willing to serve the Common-wealth beyond Sea; which gave encouragement to severell who go by the name of Hectors, and Knights of the blade, with common Cheats, Theeves, Cutpurses and such like leud persons, who had long time lived by the sleight of hand, and dexterity of wit, and were now making a fair progresse unto *Newgate*, from whence they were to proceed towards *Tiborn*; but considering the dangerousnesse of that passage, very politickly directed their course another way, and became Souldiers for the State. Some sloathfull and theevish servants likewise (to avoid the punishment of the Law, and coveting a yet more idle life) followed after in the same path; there was also drawn forth out of most of the old standing Regiments, (such as

were

man's
victuals

were newly enlisted) to compleat the number. For those who were better principled, and knew what fighting was, were (as it should seem) reserved for a better purpose, some few only excepted, which were as a mixture of little wine with much water, the one losing its proper strength and vigor, and the other thereby little imbettered. And thus went on the preparation by Land whilst the Ships were Rigging, Victualling and Manning; the generall Randevow for the Navy and Army was at *Portsmouth* and thereabouts; where (by the 10. of *November, 1654.*) most of the Ships were arrived, and such proportions of Victuall and other necessities ordered to be compleated, as each Vessell could conveniently store; some that was defective was also exchanged, notwithstanding there remained much in the Fleet. There likewise the Sailors and Souldiers received some wages for better encouragement before their departure.

On the 18. of *December* following, divers Companies of Souldiers were shipped, and the Rear Admirall (having orders) set sail accordingly with his Squadron the next day. Within few days after followed the Generals with the remainder of the Fleet and land Army, consisting in all of about 3000. men, divided into five Regiments, besides Commissioners, Treasurers and other Officers of the States. The next Randevow appointed, was the Island of *Barbadoes*, whether it pleased God to grant them a fair passage and safe arrivall, and that within four dayes one of another, so that the whole Fleet being about 30. sail, (one half being Victuallers) were riding together in *Calile Bay* by the first day of *February*, there remaining behind only two Ships of the Common-wealths (the Great and Little *Charity*) which proved afterwards prejudiciall to the Army, in their proceeding, not only in respect of the proper signification of their names, (which indeed in that sense were both wanting) but quality of their loading, the one being ordered to carry Morter Pieces, Granado shells, and store of other Ammunition, and the other, Horses with Armes and furniture for Horsemen; but through what intent or policy they were left in *England*, more then an ordinary capacity cannot apprehend, and

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although expedition be said to be the life of Action, yet though inconsiderate rashness, many a gallant Designe and Action are meerly overthrown.

Immediately after the arrivall of the Fleet (as aforesaid) the Souldiers were all put on shoar, and distributed into severall quarters on the Island, where they had allowed such diet as the Country afforded (which was none of the worst.) The Carpenters of each Ship were ordered to set up those Shallops with expedition which were brought over in quarters out of England; and all the Coopers were busied in trimming and fitting of water casks. In mean season, two Frigots with a Commissioner and others were dispatched to the Islands of *Christophers* and *Meaves*, for the raising of as many Volunteers there as was thought convenient; neither were the Colonels and other Officers at *Barbadoes* negligent in compleating their Regiments and Companies, and raising new: the Islanders likewise contributed of free cost to set forth a troop of gallant Horse, for the furtherance of this service, the carcasses whereof were afterwards (at the Island of *Hispaniola*) either eaten for want of other food, or there left behind for the use of the enemy. During the aboad of the Fleet at *Barbadoes*, divers Dutch Vessels (near 20. in number) were made prize, whereof some were there found at Anchor, others the Frigots that were a cruising at Sea, brought in, and that in regard they presumed to traffick thither with such commodities as were prohibited by the late Articles of peace concluded betwixt both Nations. The Viualles taken was employed to the use of the Navy, and the Vessels for transportation of Souldiers.

It's also remarkable, that in this mean time, there was an order for all Boyes belonging to the Fleet, (although not supernumeraries) to be cancelled out of the States Books, and for the future not to have any allowance of dyet, or wages, notwithstanding there was no care taken for their transportation homewards, or disposall otherwise, they still remaining in the Ships, became burthen some to those on whom they had dependency, in participating of such Viuals as they had sparingly allowed for themselves, but the

the hand of providence (as it should seem) willing in part to ease them of this burthen, a Sharke fish devoured at one time two youths belonging to a States ship, as they were swimming near the Vessell; all that may be attributed to the good intent of this rigorous order, was for the better Husbanding of vitall provisions, and to prolong the time of Victualling, but this, (with other matters) if it be not treason to speak it) might have been more seasonably performed at home.

The new Shallops being lanch'd, and the Fleet furnished with fresh water and other necessaries, were in a readinesse to depart, the field Army was also drawn down and shipped, they being now so numerous, that each Ships share were as many as they could well carry.

March the 31. they set sail from that Island, and within two dayes passed betwixt the Islands of *Martenica* and *Sancta Lesia*, where they anchored that night; the day following they weighed from thence, and passing by the small Islands of *Dominica*, *Guardo Lupo*, *Monserat* and *Meaves*, the 6. of *Aprill* came by the *Lee* under *Christophers*, where those Voluntary Souldiers that came off from that Island, and the next adjacent, were already shipped in prizes there taken, and awaited only the motion of the Fleet, the number of these were about 1300. which together with the other Barbarians (*viz.* men of *Barbadoes*) compleated 5000. besides Women and Children, whom (out of ill grounded confidence, and high presumption) they had brought along with them, which made them seem rather as a people that went to inhabit some Country already conquered, then to conquer: but for this perhaps they had too good a President.

What manner of Souldiers these Planters proved, may soon be imagined, for if we look with an impartiall eye, upon the major part of those that came out of *England* to be (as indeed they were) raw Souldiers, Vagabonds, Robbers and runagate servants, certainly these Islanders must be the very scum of scums, and meer dregs of corruption, and

such upon whose endeavours, it was impossible to expect a blessing.

But to return to the Fleet, who now shaped their course towards the Island of *Hispaniola*, conceiving it requisite to reduce that by the way, as well for refreshment of the Army, as to keep men in action untill (the long expected) arrivall of more Granado shels, and Morter pieces, there being only one in the Fleet, besides some wooden ones, lately made, which were deemed unfit for so great an enterprise as was intended.

April the 8: they passed by *Santa Cruse*, and the day following was ordered to be observed (throughout the Fleet) as a day of Humiliation for the good successe of the Army, but one day was not effectually for the humbling of those who had remained so many years obdurate in wickednesse. The next Island was that of *Saint John*, and having gained the length of the Wester end thereof, the distance to *Hispaniola* was 22. Leagues.

The Colonels and other Officers were now ordered to get their men in readinesse to land, and to augment the number, there was drawn forth a Regiment of rugged Sailors, whose manners argued them better fed then either instructed in the principles of Christian Religion, or rudiments of marshall discipline.

April the 13. they came sair by the Island and plainly discovered the Town of *Domingo*, and after some consultation had (with the pretended Pilots and guides) for the better landing, and conduct of the Army to the Town) the Land Generall, with a Squadron of Ships, 7000 foot Souldiers, a Troop of Horse, and three dayes provision of Victuall) went farther to leeward and landed (the day following) in safety, some ten leagues to the Westward of the Town.

No sooner were they all landed (having no opposition) but they began to promise to themselves mountains of gold, nothing busied their minds and thoughts more, then the riches of the place, their talke was all of the money, plate and

and gallant plunder they were like to have; but they were soon taken off from these vain hopes, Proclamation being then made (in the head of the Army) to this effect, That when they should enter into the Town (not including the pleasure of God in the business) they should not plunder any money, plate or jewels, neither kill any tame Cattell, upon pain of death.

2. Procl
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forbid

Thus may bee seen the Avaritious intents of some (more then ordinary) men, who desire rather to heap up to themselves abundance of treasure, (enjoy fair houses, rich Plantations, & all things suitable thereunto) then to glorifie God in their actions, making the price of blood their Inheritance, and that before they know whether they shall first obtain, or afterward live to possesse.

The chiefeft part of the Army thus landed, gained but evill encouragement by the late Proclamation, yet (after some signals of discontents) on they marched in a way that directed through woods of incredible thickeffe, receiving little or no opposition, except the excessive heat of the Sun, and intolerable drought that oppressed them, having not had (in many miles march) one drop of water, those who took upon them to conduct the Army in the most commodious wayes and passages near water, proved but blinde guides, and deceived them, so that some became exceeding faint, scant able to march, (others were necessitated to drink their own Urine) and all in generall so extreemly weakned, that it was wonderfull to behold.

all gone

The Ships that landed them, soon after turned up to Windward unto the Generall, who continued with the Fleet plying to and again within view of the Town, only one Squadron were commanded into a Bay two leagues to the Westward of the Town of *Domingo*, whereinto a large Freshwater River disburdeneth it self; there the remnant of the Army (being three Regiments) were landed, and that within two dayes after the other, the place appointed for conjunction of both parties was at this River, notwithstanding Collonell Bullard with those Regiments, (without any farther order) marched towards the Town, and (for want

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of water) soon retreated, performing not any thing worth the memory. By this time the Land Generall with the main body of the Army came up, and after some short refreshment at the River, proceeded also towards the Town, but before they came withing three miles thereof, a small party of the enemy suddenly encountred the forlorne hope (consisting of 500 men) and forced them to an unseemly retreat; the next Regiment (with some others) seconding, were also repulsed, and the Generall himself (left in a lone condition) very hardly escaped; the body of the Army coming up, the Spaniards at length retreated into a Fort of theirs, not far distant from thence, and some pursuing, were cut off with the great shot from the Fort, which was situate near the Sea side, and commanded that passage thorough the wood to the Town. In this exploit some were lost on either part, but the greatest number slain were *English*, amongst which Captain Cox (the chief guide for that place) was one.

The Generall taking into consideration the disability of the Army at that time, and exceeding want of water amongst them (there being none betwixt that and the Town, except in the former Fort, which as it was none of the strongest fortifications, being only a plain brick wall, triangular and without flankers, yet was it furnished with nine piece of good Ordnance, and about 300. desperate fellowes to manage them, and there remained little hopes that those who even then received so much damage by lesse then half that number (in the high-way) should now storm and take the place by sudden assault, without eminent losse to the whole Army, being also unprovided of ladders, and other necessities for that purpose) whereupon a retreat was made unto the River in the Bay, where they refreshed with water and such provisions of victual as was daily brought on shore from the ships, preparation was also made for another march; a Mortar-piece was landed with *Granado* shels, and two small Drakes, scaling Ladders were likewise made, but never used, for being too ponderous for carriage, they were sent by water, and so to be landed in a convenient place near the town. All things being now in
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readiness (as was supposed) the 24. of April, the Army proceeded on their march, the guides promising to direct them in a way they had not yet known, which led to a fresh-water River, distant but two miles from the north part of the Town, whither they might passe without danger of any Fort. That there was such a path was known to be certain, but taking another to be it, they drew near the way they had formerly gone, advancing but slowly, by reason the Mortar-piece and smal Drakes (for want of horses and furniture) the Souldiers drew by turns.

The day following (before noon) they approached near the Fort (but with worse successe then before) for the enemy having charged the Forlorn-hope, beat then clearly to the Generals Regiment, routed those also, executing them in the backs, in as great numbers as they listed.

Major General Haines being then in the van of the Army, was most unworthily and shamefully deserted by the Souldiers, notwithstanding that he earnestly entreated that for Gods sake some few of them would stand by him, if but ten in number, but such was their vile cowardize and baseness of spirit, that not one man would do it, whereupon he sacrificed his life (amongst the thickest of his enemies) at as dear a rate as became a stout Souldier and gallant Commander, who in his life time was as much beloved of his friends, as feared by his enemies, such was his worthiness, too worthy indeed to be a member of so Antichristian an Army.

The Spaniards pursuing this victory, made as great a slaughter as they were able, and that without the least resistance, near the one half of the Army flying before them, to the great amaze and discouragement of the rest that were not as then marched up. Some having broken off the head of their launces, continued stil the pursuit, knocking down some, beating a nd driving others along (with their Launce staves) like slaves and cow-hearted villains, until at length (being tired with slaughter, not able to proceed farther, like as the painful workman, after a laborious and hard daies labour goeth to rest) they returned to the Town, carrying with them as sure Trophies of victory) 7. English Colours.

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7. colours taken

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 The number (at this time) slain out right, were no lesse then 600 men, besides 200. more that crept into bushes, and were left behinde in the woods, whom the *Negroes* and *Molattoes* soon after dispatched; there were also near 300. wounded, whereof many were past recovery, most of them all receiving their hurts in the back parts. As for those that did all this spoyle and mischief (O miracle to believe, and shame to think it!) exceeded not in all the number of 50. men. The pursuit now ended, these running Regiments stood still, taking opportunity (with sorrow and shame) to look back on their miserable fellowes, groaning with wounds, & weltring in blood.

all army
*all dis-
 ciplined*
 The *Spaniards* manner of onset was thus: After they had fired their volly of smal shot out of the woods (being assisted by *Negroes* and *Molattoes*) most desperately fell in and charged with their sharp steel Launces, which (being directed by able bodies, and strong arms) found little opposition of the weak and feeble multitude, parched by the heat of the Sun, and half dead with thirst, no care being taken to supply this defect. The other disadvantages were these. The dis-equality betwixt the *English* Pikes and *Spanish* Launces were such, that the one being over long, and top-heavy, could not be managed with that dexterity, and to so good a purpose (especially in narrow waies and woods) as the Launce which is about three quarters of that length; neither are the *English* half-pikes of sufficient length to reach these Launces; the *Spaniards* also (by often use and practise) become more expert and ready in the use of these weapons then *English* men, who (although perhaps old souldiers) never made use of Pike or Launce (except against horse) Divers likewise in this expedition, that were of more valour and strength then others, and would have fought, were so overwhelmed and trampled under foot (by the shameful flight of the multitude that were about them) that they were not able to make resistance, but became a prey (with the rest) unto the mercilesse enemy. But (above all) the hand of the Almighty was much seen in the business, who struck so great a terror in their hearts, that they became the people of his wrath fitted to destruction.

After this sad successe, and lamentable losse, the Army (that night drew up nearer the Fort, as if they intended to execute revenge upon that; and having found a convenient place within Musket-shot thereof, (where the Enemy could not bring any great Gun to beare) the Pioneers cut down the trees, and made a kinde of Breast-worke, (such as the time would permit) and there planted the Morter-piece, which being then in a readinesse to doe execution on the Fort; speedy Orders were given to mount it on another Carriage, (fit to be drawn off) and to burn that: which being performed, (and the Granado shells buried under ground) the Army began their march back to the old Warring-place in the Bay. But what ground there was for this action, or what the reall intent of the thing signified, let those determine who have power to punish offences and reward deserts.

In this mean season the Generall of the Navy (with divers Ships) anchored in the Road at such a distance as that the Forts could reach them with great shot, and they both the Forts and Town, and having discerned Parties of men passing to and fro without the Town, conceived them to be the English Army there encamped, and thereupon sent in divers Boats with provision of Victuall and other necessaries for their supply, who approaching neer the shore discovered their error, and found them to be Spaniards, who (as it should seem) had the leisure to cast up out-Works) and so returned on board in safety, both going and coming underneath the Fort and bank sides, from danger of the shot, by which they manifestly found how good and convenient a place it was to have landed an Army of men.

The Army lying in the Bay (as formerly) had not that supply of Victuall from the Ships as before, but were necessitated to go abroad in Parties through the Woods to seek for Cattell; and oftentimes meeting with some few Negroes, were by them put to the rowt, and divers slain; others casting away their armes betook themselves to their heels, and so escaped the fury of these naked Pagans; and at some times, when neither men or beasts were neer, onely the leaves of trees making some little noise, and Crabs stirring in the woods, possessed them with such eminent fear that (leaving their Weapons behinde) they ran over

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over Cliffs into the Sea, but at length this bold Army was grown so polittick that they would no more adventure into the woods amongst these Cow-killers, (whose fable deformities had often strook as great a terrour in their hearts, as *Pluto* and all his Infernall rowt could doe, had they been there present to have tortured them) exercising their valour onely on Horses, Affe Necoes, and such like, making a slaughter of all they met, greedily devouring skin, intrails, and all, to satiate their hungers; and thus were all the Troop-horses belonging to the Army by them eaten, the Generals own hardly escaping; this behaviour and diet they continued for some daies.

700-600 What number of men had been lost in small Parties, and by stragling (besides at the totall rowt) was not known, untill by a generall Muster was found that of 9700 men first landed, there remained then onely 8000 (the Sea-Regiment included.) Many of these were sick and wounded, and most of them faint-hearted, not fit for service. To have adventured a third time with such in the face of the Enemy, were an act of no lesse rashnesse than madnesse, for had the Commanders been ever so valiant, able and worthy (except it had pleased God miraculously to perform the Work by them alone) which could be as little expected as deserved) these sheep like Souldiers (I mean in courage, not innocence) would questionlesse have left them in the lurch, experience had already shewn it, and too true they should have found it; And again to have shipped this wretched rabble, not well-knowing whither to go, or how to dispose of them, would also have been the destruction and loss of the whole Fleet, having provisions for a short time, for so great a multitude; of these two evils (it pleased Providence) that the least was chosen, and a place was now thought on, absolutely fit indeed for such an Army, where they might have food without fighting, and a Land to inhabit without opposition, and that within some few dayes sayle. This being resolved upon, care was taken to ship the men; the Morter-piece, two small Drakes, and two Iron Guns (which were placed in a small Fortification by them made at the mouth of the River for the better securing of the Warring-place.) Before the performance of these things, I should have declared how Adjutant Generall Jackson (that great

great man of little courage) was cashiered for a Coward, and the ceremony performed of breaking his Sword over his head, for example to others; but my opinion is, that if all of like nature had been so dealt with, there would not have been many whole Swords left in the Army.

The third of May, all were shipped, except the bodies of 1700 men (most of whose Armes, seven Field-Colours, with all their honours (if any they had) there left behinde: It is also observable that as at their landing they had no opposition, so neither at their shipping off, the Spaniards (with their small numbers) rather shewed themselves defensive, than offensive, resting content with what they had already done, strongly fortifying for the future; whereas if they had taken but this last opportunity (by the disability, weaknesse, and cowardise of the Army) to have charged in with two or three hundred able resolute men (within few dayes before, or at their going off) certainly they had destroyed and spoiled the most part of them all, who were more willing and ready to run into the Sea, and there perish, than to oppose or look upon their Enemies:

All the benefit or good the Army had found in this place was onely at the first some few Cattel, and a good quantity of Sugar, Part whereof they made use of, casting the rest into the River to dulse it that (such was their ignorance and folly) but this sweet diet had sowre sauce.

The Fleet also recruited with fresh water out of this faire and goodly River, (whose golden sands had bloody price) And the Souldiers being all onboard (as aforesaid) they set sayle that day before the wind, and before they had performed the least part of their intent or desires.

Having now briefly, but truly, related their manner of proceedings and successe on this unfortunat Island, it will not be altogether impertinent to describe the scituation of the Towne and Forts adjacent, with the nature and quality of the Countrey, which take as followeth.

THe Towne of *Sancta Demingo* (Metropolis of *Hispavila*, and Residence of the Spanish Viceroy) is situate on the South side of the Island, distant from the Eastmost Cape or Lands end, 28 Leagues, having North Latitude, 18. deg: 28. M n: It is well walled (and in some sort strengthened) by a great River which passeth neere the North East part thereof, at the Mouth of this River is a Harbour, which although of no great Magnitude, yet capable of entertaining Ships of good burden, The entrance to the Harbor is through a Bay of reasonable latitude, where there is good Anchorage, and a Road for Ships, on the harbord side going in, is a Fort, strengthened with 12, or more good Guns which commandeth the Harbor and Southwest side of the Towne, the other parts thereof (on the Land side) have for their defence an old ruined Wall encompassed thick with Limetrees, which is (now lately) well repaired, and strongly fortified. Within one miles Circumference of the Towne, is open ground and plaine Fields, or Savanah as they there call them, being made by industry and Art as are all their wayes and passages through the Woods, and Fields for Sugar Canes, with other open places for husbandry, the whole Land being naturally over-grown and Covered over with trees, amongst which of Limon, Orange, Coco, Cabage, Palmeeto, Cedar, Mastick and *Lignum vite* trees, there are good plenty.

About two miles to the Westward of the Towne, (and neere the Bay side) is placed another Fort, the description whereof, as also the damage it did the Army in their march towards the Towne, I have already declared.

Four miles farther to the West from thence, is that River and Bay formerly spoken of, where the Army encamped, and the Fleet tooke in fresh water, which place the Spaniards had not then forfeited, but it is to be supposed that in the strengthening of that (and all places else of consequence, in the West-Indies) they have not since been negligent.

The commodities these Rivers afford (besides the goodnesse of their Water) consists in the divers sorts of dainty Fish therein abounding, as also pieces of Gold minerais, washed from forth

forth of their banks at certaine times, together with Sand-gold, a small quantity whereof was found by some English Soldiers; The discommodities these Streames engender, are Allegators, which farther up in the Countrey are in too great plenty.

The whole Land, (except some Hills of great ascent) is certainly very fruitfull, which although it produce not such Fruits and Corne as doth *England* and other more temperate Climats (the scorching heat of the Sun depriving it of that happinesse) yet of Sugar Canes, Oranges, Lemmons, Bonanoes, Bonibits, Plantains, Pine-Apples, Puttato, and Cassadra Roots (whereof they make their bread) With divers other Roots and Fruits, there is no scarcity.

It is also replenish'd with store of Oxen, and Cowes of good magnitude, as well wilde as tame. Sheep there are some, not many, and abundance of Hogs, and faire Horses, which last are there of little use or service in Warre, by reason of the exceeding thick Woods. But beyond all, the inestimable rich Mines of Gold and Silver (hidden within the bowells of that Land) maketh friends for all other defects. The North and West parts of the Island are scarcely at all inhabited, except by some few Cowkillers, Rogues that have been thither banish'd for Murder, or some other villany, who make it their labour to kill and destroy many Cattell, and that onely for their Tallow and Hides, which is sent in, to the Spaniards; As for the Towns and Villages, in the habitable parts, they are neither faire nor many, the chiefest whereof, I have already mentioned, which doubtlesse (at the time of the English Armies being there) was very rich, for the neighbouring Villages and Plantations being surpris'd by their Landing, they had no leisure to convey themselves, with much Treasure, Plate and Jewells thither, as to a place of their best strength and refuge.

And thus much of *Hispaniola*. The Island of *Jamaica* must now be the subject of my following discourse, whither the Fleet approaching; the 7. of *May*, was observed as another day of Humiliation, for all such, whom Hunger, thirst, and the Sword of the Enemy, had not yet given a feeling sense of their presumptuous wickedness, and disobedience towards God.

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And considering the great cowardise that had lately possessed them, it was also proclaimed to the whole Army, that whosoever should be found to turne his back to the Enemy, and run away, the next Officer (that brought up the rear of that Division) should immediately run him through, which if he failed to performe, himself was to suffer death without mercy. Which strict order, might have wrought better effect at Hispaniola, there being little probability of engaging with an Enemy in this place.

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The 9. of May they drew nigh the Island, and having sailed about 16. League within the South side thereof, the day following came to an Anchor in a spacious Harbour, called also Jamaica, where there was good Ground, and deep Water, and Manning all their small Vessells and Boats with Soldiers, soon landed the Army in a Bay, that lay yet farther within the Harbour, and that without the losse of one man, for the Spaniards having onely three or four small and slight Brest-workes, with some few Guns, and seeing so numerous an Army in readinesse to Land, made not many shot, but fled in hast to the Town of Oristano, which was altogether unfortified, and distance from thence six English miles, from whence they conveyed away all things of value and concernment, together with their Families, and departed farther into the Countrey, for such was their weakness, and disability for resistance, that their whole number (on that part of the Island) exceeded not 500. Men, beside some Negro slaves, but what they could not act by force of Armes, they did by policy, as too soon will appeare.

The English Army being possessed of the Brest-workes, and Guns that commanded the landing-place; A Forlorne hope was drawn forth, and sent towards the Town, who that night would not adventure to enter therein, untill the morrow following, at which time they found it destitute of Inhabitants, or any thing else necessary for their entertainment, or accommodation, except bare walls, bedstedds, chaires, and Cow-hides; Soon after the Generall with the whole Army, (consisting of about 7000 men) marched up thither, where there then came in divers Spaniards (which seemed to be of quality) to treat, bringing with them (as presents for the Generall) Wine, Poultry, divers

divers sorts of Fruits, and other rarities that the Countrey yeilded) promising also to send in Beeves sufficient for the maintenance of the Army, with other large overtures, and high complements,

This Treaty being continued for certain daies, the Enemy had free egress and regress aswell into the Town, and English Quarters, as elsewhere, continuing their welcomed presents, bringing Cattell for the use of the Army, and behaving themselves with such civill and kinde (although feigned) deportment, that they invited divers Souldiers of the Army to visit them in their Quarters, where they had Wine given them, and were much made of; by which means they gained knowledge (by some overcomes with Liquor) that they had been at *Hispaniola*, and how they were there dealt withall, as also the extremities and wants they were driven to in their marches, for want of water and other necessities in those hot Countreys, whereby they were much disabled: The Spaniards understanding this, and viewing the present weak condition of the Army, (by which they guessed at the future, if their wants were not supplied from time to time) were now animated to put in practice their uttermost endeavours for preservation of their goods and estates, and not to stand to any Articles of agreement, to depart the Island, with some few clothes onely to their backs (as was expected) notwithstanding they fairly dissembled the matter, and to avoid all suspicion, sent their Governour (as they pretended) an old decrepit Segnior, full of the French disease, and brought in betwixt two in a Hammack) to signe the Articles of Agreement, which he (with some others) accordingly did.

In this means season, these subtil and sly Spaniards had conveyed farre away in the Woods, all their riches and best goods, which (in some dayes after the Army was possessed of the Towne) remained in the Spanish quarters neere at hand) and might have been soone intercepted, they also gathered up all the ablest and best Horses (during the Treaty) as well in the English quarters, as their owne, and the time limited for their departure from the Island (according to to the Articles signed) being neere expired, they drove away most of all the Cattell neere the Towne, and following after their Goods, Wives,

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Children, and servants (which were gone before at least three dayes Journey) swept and cleared the Countrey as they went of all vitall provisions, leaving their old pockie Governour as a Hostage for their return.

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And thus were they overcome by the subtilty and deceit of the Spaniards at Jamaica, as well as they had been lately vanquished by their Launces at Hispaniola, and all the redresse that could be now thought on, was to send a Party in pursuit after them; Colonel Bulard, (with 2000 men) was employed on the businesse, part of which number were shipped in small vessels and shallops, and so conveyed by water unto a Bay (17 legues to the Eastward of that where the Fleet lay) where they came in conjunction with the rest that had marched thither on foot, The politick intent of this grand designe being to surprize the Spaniards and their luggage (betwixt both parties) as they were shipping off for the Main, which was supposed would be at that place, but in that they deceived themselves, for the Enemy had no such intent, but rather directed their passage through by-waies, thick woods, and over high hills, and large Mountains, (of which there are plenty) having Scouts and Sentinels abroad in each possible way and path, to discover the approach of any, It being almost an impossible thing for an Army (except well acquainted with the Countrey) to follow or finde them out, and again, the excessive heat of the Sun, the want of water in many places, with other defects and impediments naturally incident to the place, and disagreeing to English constitutions, more enweakeneth and disables them in ten miles march there, than forry in their own Countrey. But I shall now leave this pursuing party, to wander in the woods awhile, and there kill Cattell (if any they finde) to preserve life, rather than hazard it at so great disadvantages against the Spaniards) and shew in what posture and condition those in the Town were in, who (after the departure of the Spanish Captors) were in so great want that Dogs and Cats was the best part of their diet, with such sort of food as they had formerly tasted at Hispaniola, as Horses, Asse Necoer, and such like, there being strict order that on pain of death none should presume to kill any Cowes or Oxen, and if at any time there went forth (by especiall order) some

some small party that brought in Beeves, they were distributed amongst the superiour Officers of the Army, the Inferiour men having onely inferiour meat, the often use whereof made them somewhat participate of the nature of the Beasts, sometimes living the life of Dogs, and at other times bearing the burthen of Asses, and what other encouragement or comfort could they have, that to ponder in their mindes, thus, *Solumen miseri socios habuisse dolores.*

Jamaica Harbor, May the 24.

It was resolved (at a Councell of Warre) That the Generall of the Navy, and Reer Admirall, in the Ships *Swiftsure* and *Palagon* (with most of the Flemish ships) should return for *England*, Orders being given for their speedy fitting, and requit with fresh water and other necessaries.

May the 25.

There hapned an ill accident in the Fleet the ship called the *Discovery* (of the States) a vessell of good force and burthen, was unhappily fired by firing brandy wine in the Steward-room, the flames of the candle taking hold of that combustible liquor, so vehemently increased the fury of the fire, that there was no prevention. Wherefore (to avoid further danger) most of the ships boats that could be had in readinesse, towed her off on a bank of sand some distance from the Fleet, where (after she had consumed about four howres) her Magazine of powder blew up, and did no more harm; the ship *Swiftsure* being then ready to carreen, had most of her best Guns there onboard, which were all afterward (by industry and art) taken up, notwithstanding that they lay in above three fathome water.

June the 1.

Colonell *Bullard* (after a long march to little purpose) returned with his party to the Town, bringing with him some Cattel, and giving notice of great abundance that are in the more remote parts of the Countrey; since which time there hath gon forth divers Parties, who have also brought in Drovers of Cattel,

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and amongst the rest a Spanish Lady (with some Attendants) who were she but as good as great, as virtuous as ponderous, and as fair as fat, certainly she would farre exceed any three Ladies of England in worth, weight, and beauty.

June the 6.

The ship *Cardiffe* set saile for England, as the Harbinger of the rest of the Fleet which were to follow after.

And the 9th following, a generall Muster was taken of the Land Army, whose number was found to be much diminished of late, not so much by any pestilentiall or violent disease, as for meer want of naturall sustenance, which in common reason may seem strange that (of all men) Souldiers should starve in a Cooks shop (as the saying is) or perish for want of food in a Countrey so abounding with Fleish, Fish, and other vitall provisions; but it is to be hoped that for the future they may have an allowance of better and more wholesome diet than yet they have had, if the tyranny of their Commanders (or slothfulness of themselves, or both) prevent not.

There lately arrived at *Jamaica* divers Victualers with provisions for the Fleet, also Armes and Ammunition for the Army, but Hoes and Hatchets were more siter for them.

June the 20.

There came in hither three small Vessels (Prizes) which were taken by the *Selby* and *Grantham* Frigots (who were ordered to lie plying to and agen off the Island of *Hispaniola*) some Spaniards (in them taken) reported that at the first appearance of the English Fleet before the Town of *Domingo*, the Inhabitants deserted the place, and went all into the woods (where they continued three daies) leaving their Magazine of powder behinde, which they had once intended to have blown up, but perceiving that in that time neither the ships approached the Harbor (which they much dreaded) nor any else came to molest them, they re-entered the Town, and being much encouraged and strengthened by those of the Countrey (who daily came in thither) fortified what they might, and blocking up the mouth

mouth of their Harbour with some Vessels which they there sunk, resolved to use their uttermost endeavours to maintain the place.

Oristano, June the 24.

There was this day a rumour that Generall Venables was departed this life, which was but a rumour not reall; but his Excellency hath not been currant since his being at *Hispaniola*. The grand business that the Army is now upon, is to settle each Regiment in their severall Quarters, where they have parcels of Land equally aproportioned unto them, which being subdivided amongst the Officers, (according to their respective places) some small share is like to fall unto the Common Soldiers; but what improvement may be made thereof, or how it will please Almighty God farther to deale with this Army, let time and truth manifest; the good hand of Providence having taken me from amongst them, that so (according to my earnest desires) I might no longer be a spectator or recorder of their actions. I shall therefore now conclude, only including a brief description of the Island of *Jamaica*, by comparing it (in divers respects) with *Hispaniola*, together with some few passages by the way homeward.

The Island of *Jamaica* is situate betwixt the Main, and the Isle *Cuba*, distant from the one 96. Leagues, and from the other 20, the center whereof lyeth directly in the same Lat: with the Town of *Sancta Domingo* (in *Hispaniola*) already described, and hath Longitude West from thence, 2 deg: 18. Min: Its magnitude, is scanty one 3. of the said Islands being in length 46, and breadth 14. Leagues. Notwithstanding for the quality and quantity of Land, it is no lesse fruitfull, and altogether as plentiful in Fish, Fowle, and Cattell of all sorts; It is more Mountainous and lesse Woody. Rivers there are divers, but the Spring-heads of some arising from Copper Mines, the Water is somewhat unholosome, and unfavory; unlesse corrected by boyling (which the *Spaniards* used.) Its chiefest defects and impediments are these. It produceth not any Mynes of Gold and Silver, as doth *Hispaniola* and other parts of the Indies. It is also ill situated for Traffique, lying such a distance to Leeward

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that it is a most difficult thing for vessels to come up so farre to Windward as to get cleare of the Islands and Rocks, and are therefore necessitated to make their passage thorough the Gulfe of Florida, which is accounted dangerous, except at some seasons of the yeare.

June the 25.

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The Fleet bound for England, set sail from Jamaica, Vice-Admirall Goodson (in the Torrington Frigate) being left Admirall of that Squadron, ordered to remaine in the Indies, they consisting of all the English Frigots of this Fleet, also three of the best sayling Flemish Ships, which compleated the number of 12 sayle, besides victualers and prizes there remaining.

July the 8.

Ship fire

The Fleet gained the length of Cape St. Anthony (being the Westernmost Cape of the Isle Cuba) and the thirteenth Foll: they plying to Windward (having a fresh gale Easterly) came neer under the Tropick, and short of the Cape of Florida, about thirty Leagues, where there hapned another sad disaster. The Paragon Navy (a Ship of the second ranke, and (at that time Reare-Admirall) took fire, and consumed to her Powder-room, and so blew up, the Reare-Admirall Dakins (and some others) with much danger and difficulty escaped, divers Ships Boats, (which were neere) coming in to their assistance, notwithstanding there perished about one hundred and forty Men. By what meanes this lamentable accident was first occasioned, is not yet certainly knowne, but too certain it is, that the chiefe neglect was in the Stewards room, from whence the fire brake forth, violently encreasing (past remedy) as the people were assembled together at Divine Exercise in the forenoon.

July the 19.

Having hitherto had (the Weather variously inclined) many calmes, and some stormes, with diversity of Winds (but all of short continuance) the Fleet now entred the Gulfe of Florida, and the 22 Foll: passed forth of the same, the extent thereof (being

being (in length) from the Cape of *Florida* to the uttermost Islands North of *Cuba* 68 Leagues, and in breadth from those Islands to the main 20 Leagues, the current there setting N:N:E. the swiftnesse or slacknesse whereof dependeth on the falling of the Raines, (which about the Month of *August* are constantly very great) many exceeding large *American* Rivers (being augmented thereby) the spacious Bay of *Mexico*, becomes their receptacle, and so disburtheneth its swelling Floods, through this narrow strait, into the *Virgivan* Ocean, it is therefore of some called the Gulfe of *Mexico*,

August the 4.

The Fleet gained the length of the *Barmudas*, since when (for the generality) being favoured with faire Windes and seasonable weather. The 22. of this instant, they had also the length of the *Westerne* Islands.

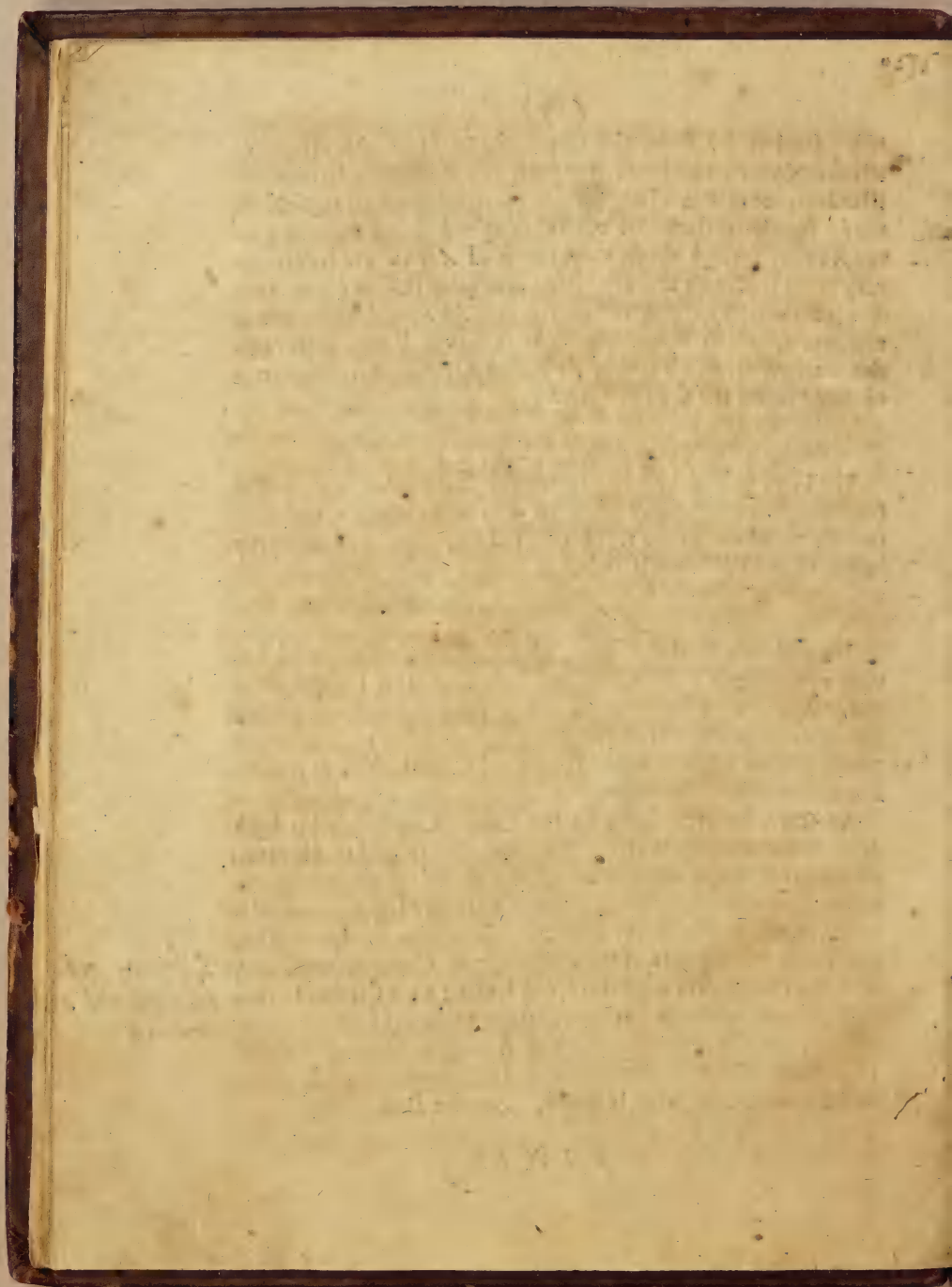
August the 30.

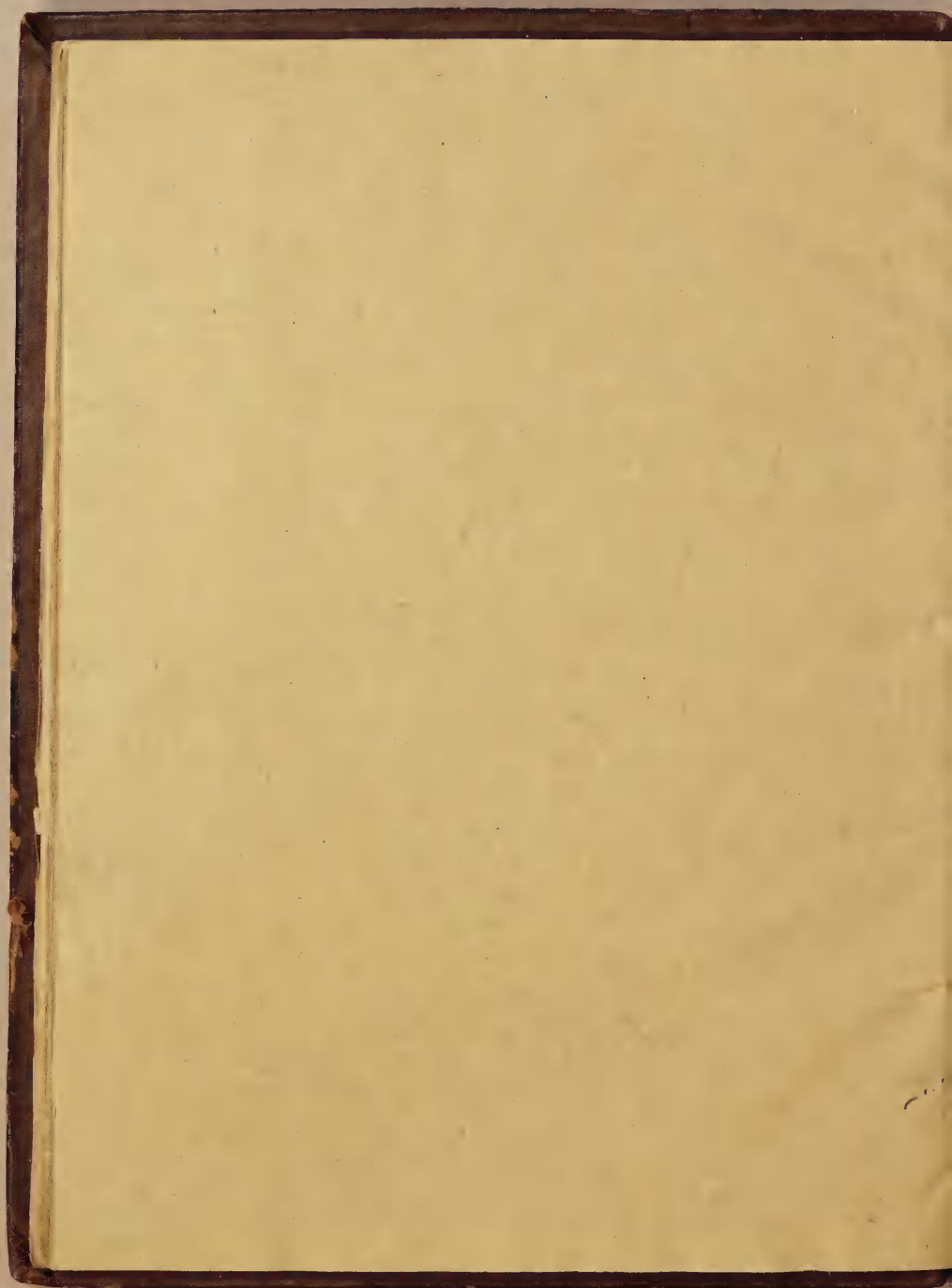
They discried the English Shore (neer *Lizard*) and having a strong gale S.S.W. the day following, the Fleet Anchored at *Spithead*, (neer *Portsmouth*.) three sayle having been separated from the rest by obscure weather in the night (before their entrance into the Gulfe) came in hither also this day, some few houres before the other.

And now for ever blessed be the Divine Creator, who hath dealt thus mercifully with us, the unworthiest of his Servants, giving us so large experience of his abundant goodnesse towards us, and bringing us once more unto the Land of our Nativity. The Lord in mercy so encline the hearts of this Nation, that those grand finnes of *Presumption* and *Covetousnesse*, may no longer reigne amongst them, lest seeking after shadows, they lose the reall substance; or covering the good or Gold of others, they incur the high displeasure of Almighty God upon themselves, and so become the scorne and derision of their Enemies, and a by-word to other Nations. *Avertat Deus.*

*Sinner of
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